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THE Hindu Message

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Contents of No. 5

1. A Vision of India. The Plantain (A Poem) By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L. 85
2. Afghanistan. 86
3. Vedanta and Democracy By Nagaraja Sarma B.A. Hons. 88
4. The Dreams of the Soul. By An Indian Dreamer. 89
5. Bhagavad Gita with an English exposition—K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L. 89
6. Constitutional Struggle for Liberty By P. Subrahmanya Mudaliar B.A., B.L. 90
7. Extracts from the Memorandum on a University for Baroda. By Professor P. Seshadri. 95
8. Notes and Comments. 98
9. Olla Podrida. 99
10. Epigramatic Tit-Bits. By W. Dorasamy Iyer. 100

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A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

VOL. 4.] THURSDAY MAY 22, 1919. [No. 5.

The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

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A Vision Of India.

THE PLANTAIN.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

Thou art a universal blessing here ;
Where'er we turn thy emerald leaves do shine
In splendour and our eyes most gladly dine
On them the sunlight shining through the year.
Thy cones of pale-red flowers droop far and near
Beloved by artists in their art's design.
These sweet and multi-coloured fruits of thine
Are to the universal palate dear.
The soft and rounded coolness of thy stem
Brings woman's soft and rounded grace to thought
And arms bright Kama with unwonted power
Of use and loveliness thou art the gem.
By workers and by bards alike art sought
In work's hot day and poesy's moonlit bower.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 22, MAY,, 1919.

Afghanistan.

The rapid trend of events on the North Western Frontier during the last fortnight has resulted in the proclamation of a state of open hostility between ourselves and the Amir. Since 1880 the relations between ourselves and Afghanistan were cordial and all along the State enjoyed a period of comparative quiet and prosperity due primarily to the aid and support which the British Government gave to its rulers.

It will be interesting to note in this connection the varied importance of Afghanistan to us at different periods of Indian History. During the Mughal rule it was a province of the Empire. Under the British rule the preponderant influence and aggressive spirit which Russia was beginning to exercise over Persia and Central Asia about 1828 made the Afghan question a burning one. From that time forward Afghanistan became the cardinal point where the whole Asiatic question centred. The British Government laid down that the independence and integrity of Afghanistan were essential to the security of India. The fear of Russian aggression and the maintenance of Afghan independence strong enough to withstand that aggression has since then been the underlying principle of British dealings with Afghanistan. All the wars we had to fight with Afghanistan were fought with the same two things ever in view. When Lord Auckland intervened in Afghanistan with this view he met with disastrous consequences and the idea of bringing Afghanistan within the sphere of British influence was definitely abandoned For forty years the question remained dormant and in the end was revived but under different conditions and with success instead of failure. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Russian peril again loomed large in the eyes of British Statesmen in India and once more the Afghan question became an anxious one. Discussions and negotiations with the Amir proceeded rapidly but all were ineffectual and only ended in the second Afghan war of 1878-81. The war in fact was necessitated by the Amir's refusal to admit a British envoy while he freely entertained a Russian one. Kabul and Kandahar were captured by Lord Roberts but the Government recognised that an attempt to subdue and pacify the whole country was beyond its powers. So it tactfully withdrew from Afghanistan after proclaiming Abdur Rahman as Amir. His alliance was secured by grants of arms and money as well as by a formal promise of support against foreign aggression while a joint commission of Russian and English officers limited his territories within well-defined bounds.

The general result of all our measures as regards the Afghan question has been of the greatest importance to us. During the whole of the nineteenth century Russian domination has coloured and governed our relations with Afghanistan. Consequently even though we have recognised its independence we are by agreement and treaties bound to protect her against foreign aggression. It is essential that she should still be within

British influence since her independence and integrity are necessary for the security of India. Thus it has become a protected State standing as a buffer between two vast and powerful Empires.

As a protected State serving as a buffer Afghanistan was of the greatest importance to us till now. But its value as a buffer State has been much lessened in recent times. The Russo-Japanese war shattered the fiction of Russia's efficiency and the traditional belief in the vast military resources and perfect organisation of that country proved false. The Russian bogey no longer caused the fear which the British entertained throughout the nineteenth century. Further by the latest convention signed in 1907 between Great Britain and Russia the integrity of the Amir's territory and the independence of his internal Government were secured by international guarantee, while at the same time the apprehensions and jealousies which disturbed the relations of the two European empires may be said to have been removed. The nightmare of the Russian bogey having vanished, the importance of Afghanistan as a barrier province has been much lessened.

Afghanistan has progressed much in its internal administration as a result of its alliance with the British. The agreement between Russia and Great Britain removed the anxiety ever worrying it while the aid and support which the British extended to its rulers enabled it to progress and develop in many directions. Under such circumstances the hostile intentions manifested by the present Amir, Amanulla Khan are most regrettable as the war was most unprovoked and the British had throughout acted in the friendliest spirit. Amanulla thus stands in strong contrast with Habibulla-Khan who maintained the strictest neutrality in spite of German agents and instigators during a most trying and anxious time. Amanulla could not have committed a more suicidal policy than to take up arms against us. He could not be labouring under a more foolish delusion than to count upon the recent disturbances in the Punjab as a suitable inducement to enter upon the war. Nor could he rely upon the past successes which his countrymen may have achieved over the British. Conditions have profoundly changed since then which makes it almost impossible for any small State to measure its strength against so powerful an Empire as our own. Motor transport, æroplanes and wireless telegraphy have added so much to our military strength which our forefathers had not. Under the ruthless sweep of the æroplanes mountains afford only an indifferent shelter while the improved methods of warfare and munition secure an easy gain over primitive methods. The Russians have still 'something to do' with the present war also. It is reported that many Bolshevists were busy working at Kabul. But here again it should be emphatically laid down that any fear of Bolshevism taking a strong root in India is ill-founded. Bolshevick ideals are so entirely opposed to and derogative of Hindu principles and ideals that it will be sheer folly in any one to believe that it will in any way appeal to the masses whose loyalty is a divine faith and whose social ideals are governed by religion rather than by any mandate or agreement of the impulsive and fever-brained Bolshevick

leaders. Now that the Russian menace is destroyed, there would be no danger of converting the Afghan state into an integral part of the Empire. With our improved method of warfare it would be quite easy to subdue the turbulent State and the pursuit of a conciliatory yet stern policy of administration would convert the Afghans into peaceful citizens and make the State a flourishing centre of business just as Baluchistan is now. By its annexation we would be getting rid of that Damocle's sword which is ever threatening the region of the five rivers. Even if the whole country is not annexed it is hoped that the Government will enforce upon the foolhardy Amir such terms as would secure peace in that quarter.

Vedanta and Democracy.

(BY R. NAGARAJA SARMA B.A. HONS.)

It would appear that Sir A. Cardew has submitted a note regarding the Indian constitutional reforms. He has pointed out that so long as India clings to her philosophy, her social conditions and so forth, she must be subjected to "the impartial rule of foreign officials" and that as she is, she is unfit for responsible self-government. Sir Alexander's conception and estimate of Indian philosophy and culture are as ridiculous as they are amusing and his statements forcibly remind us of the cultural attack delivered against India and her people by W. M. Archer. Mr. Archer finds India still in a state of barbarism and with Mr. A. G. Hogg of the Christian College he considers India's political subordination to be the logical outcome of a quietistic metaphysic which lacks volitional individuality. Sir Alexander plays second fiddle to Mr. Archer and even though such attacks and charges against Indian culture have been from time to time repudiated by competent scholars, still they are repeated with dogged persistance. Persistant charges therefore do require a repudiation and especially so when there is on the continent a loud talk of making the world safe for Democracy. Sir John Woodroffe says "India cannot at the present moment allow any charges against her to go unanswered."

Naturally enough erroneous notions concerning India and her culture are quite common among the Westerners because they are acquired by means of inaccurate translations. Secondly in order to understand the correct significance of the culture of a people a certain intellectual sympathy with them is a *sine qua non*. On the other hand Mr. Archer and others of his type are so constantly and even eternally obsessed by a sense of their own cultural superiority that it is for them practically impossible to acquire and cultivate that intellectual sympathy that is needed for a correct appreciation of the culture of others.

Coming now to Sir Alexander's utterance, it can be easily proved that Indian philosophy does not and cannot in any way handicap the country in getting political privileges. Indian philosophy is eminently and supremely practical and all the six important systems of thought—known as shad-darsanas—lay adequate emphasis upon the place of man as a member of the world's moral order and his duties and responsibilities. Especially the Vedanta conveys the glorious message of peace and good will to all and how there cannot by any radical difference among the members of the moral commonwealth. The cardinal doctrines of the Vedanta namely, (1) the recognition of the freedom of the individual as a moral agent and as an aspirant to higher life; (2) the conception of the world as a theatre of war in which the great battle between good and evil, between the powers of light and darkness, is to be fought; and (3) lastly the idea of self-realisation as the highest goal of man's spiritual endeavour, give the lie direct to the fantastic and misleading statements of Sir Alexander.

The ideal of sva-dharma splendidly answers to the hegelian conception of "my station and its duties," France is the home of Democracy, and Bergson is its illustrious philosopher. If his conception of the intuision of the elan vital does not render his country unfit for democratic

government, why then, is the Vedantic ideal of a similar nature held to disqualify Indians for self-rule? Bosanquet is an idealist. His country enjoys democracy. The idea of the world as karma-bhumi is only the oriental way of expressing what Bosanquet calls "the factory of soul-making." It will thus be seen that countries, where philosophical ideas akin to those of Indians are freely prevalent, enjoy political freedom while India alone does not. Thus we see Sir Alexander is not justified in regarding India unfit for self-rule on account of her philosophy.

Then again, he cannot with any success summon the aid of the theory of re-incarnation. Sir Alexander is obviously ignorant of those systems of Indian thought which altogether do away with that doctrine. Even supposing that it is adhered to, a closer examination will reveal that the theory in question relates only to the progressive realisation of the Highest Truth by means of certain psychical processes and hence it has little or nothing to do with the political emancipation of a people.

In a word it is clear that Sir Alexander has levelled a cultural attack against India, the political basis of which is transparent. In it we discern an aspect of the proverbial white man's burden. What is the answer to such a cultural attack? Is India going to give up her own culture with a view to qualifying herself for self-rule? That cannot be. She cannot commit cultural suicide. The only solution is that she must improve and advance her own culture making the necessary adjustments then and there to conform to changing environment. The European war has clearly impressed upon our minds the undesirability and the folly of hugging Western Institutions, *in toto*, as the only panacea for our political evils. When all has been said and done the West—the war-worn and the war-weary West—must look to the East for consolation. The League of Nations that is being so volubly talked about now-a-days cannot but turn out to be a mere league of dreams—as a writer so ably points out in "The Nineteenth Century and After," so long as aggression prevails and so long too as Western people delight in sneering at the exalted Vedantic ideal of peace, love, and good-will to all. In conclusion if India is not granted responsible government the reasons ought to be sought elsewhere and not in her philosophy and general culture.

The Dreams of the Soul.

(BY AN INDIAN DREAMER).

XV

My swift chariot bore me home from the foot of the shrine-crowned hill where I had gone to love and adore the soul of the world.

As with a swiftness that raced with the wild longings of my heart, I saw the sunlit peace brooding over the earth.

And as my car turned a corner I saw a blessed bit of heaven on earth.

The smiling ricefields over which at the edges hung fondly palm and peepul and mango and margosa smiled back their joy to the smiling blue of sky.

The river flowed with lifegiving waters on my left and brought the message of God's love.

I felt the radiance of light and the blessedness of peace in my innermost heart of hearts.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA II.

(*continued.*)

यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।
इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ॥ ६० ॥

O son of Kunti, even in the case of a striving and wise man, the turbulent senses impetuously snatch away his mind.

NOTES:

1. This verse describes an intermediate stage—not pure *satwa* or mere *tamas*. It describes not the seer or the sleeper but the

scholar. It describes the urgent need of बाह्येन्द्रियनिग्रह.

2. The Lord says that mighty effort and prayer and devotion will on the one hand slowly lessen the hold of the senses on us and on the other hand bring us nearer to the attainment of God-vision which alone will finally lead to the conquest of the senses and the subduing of the relish for worldly enjoyments.

3. The power of the senses is thus described in Manu Chap. II Verse 215.

मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा न विविक्तासनो भवेत् ।
बलवानिन्द्रियग्रामो विद्वांसमपि कर्षति ॥

4. Viveka is the King and Yatna (effort) is the minister. With their help and the help of the army of prayer and devotion and good thoughts and words and deeds we must beat off the investing armies of the senses.

तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः ।
वशे हि यस्येन्द्रियाणि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ६१ ॥

He should well control them all and sit in tranquil meditation regarding me as the Supreme. His wisdom is steady whose senses are in his control.

NOTES:

1. If we seek the help of the king the thieves do not hurt us but become our servants. So if we seek and get the Lord's grace, the senses will not degrade us but will be our servants serviceable and pure.

न वासुदेवभक्तानामशुभं विद्यते क्वचित् ।
नित्योत्सवो भवेत्तेषां नित्यश्रीर्नित्यमंगलम् ।
येषां मनःस्थो भगवान्मंगलायतनं हरिः ॥

लाभस्तेषां जयस्तेषां कुतस्तेषां पराभवः ।
येषामिन्दीवरश्यामो हृदये सुप्रतिष्ठितः ॥

2. God-love leads to conquest of the senses and leads to God-vision.

3. The Katha Upanishad says well:

विज्ञानसारथिर्यस्तु मनःप्रग्रहवान्नरः ।
सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥

यथाऽग्निरुद्धतशिखः कक्षं दहति सानिलः ।
तथा चित्तस्थितो विष्णुर्योगिनां सर्वकिल्बिषम् ॥

ध्यायतो विषयान्पुंसः संगस्तेषूपजायते ।
संगात्संजायते कामः कामात्क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥ ६२ ॥

क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात्स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
स्मृतिभ्रंशाद्बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशाद्विनश्यति ॥ ६३ ॥

Attachment to objects is born of musing on them, desire is born of attachment, anger is born of desire, delusion comes from anger; loss of memory results from delusion; from loss of memory comes the ruin of discrimination; and through the ruin of discrimination he is lost.

NOTES:

1. बाह्येन्द्रियनिग्रह (control of the outer senses) by itself is of no use because mental contemplation of the objects will lead to attachment and eventually to moral destruction. Hence मनोनिग्रह is equally essential.

2. The *Samskara* of *Bhavana* is the basis of knowledge, and that of *smriti* is the basis of memory. The *samskara* (mental impression) of *smriti* (memory) is at the very basis of our conceptual and discriminative thought. When therefore intense passion clouds our memory, eventually our discriminative power which alone can distinguish right and wrong is lost. Such loss is the real loss of the man himself, because then he loses his Purushartha, and what greater loss can there be than the loss of the goal of existence?

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* Constitutional Struggle for Liberty.

(By P. SUBRAHMANYA MUDALIAR B.A., B.L.)

To many globe-trotters India is a museum of different races, creeds, and castes. To the scientific enquirer, the ethnologist, or the anthropologist, it is a grand human Laboratory exhibiting different stages of human development in the evolution of man. To the religious enthusiast, or the fanatic missionary, India presents a concentrated mixture of human beliefs, superstitions, dogmas and tenets ranging from primitive barbarism to the highest flights of philosophy that the human mind has ever reached. To

* This forms a Chapter in the forthcoming book by the author named "An Invasion of India in 1927."

the political reformer India supplies a theme for anxious study illustrating the different stages of human progress from slavery to liberty, and from autocracy to democracy. About a decade ago, Mr. E. S. Montagu, as an earnest student of politics, visited India, and studied its political condition under the aegis of bureaucracy with intent to train the people in the art of responsible government. Before he became the Secretary of State for India, he had condemned the system of the government then prevalent as being too wooden, too iron, and too antedeluvian, as being throughly unsuited for modern requirements. On his landing in India, the bureaucracy filed a revision petition asking the distinguished statesman to revise his notions about India and its government, and supplied him with an excellent pair of Anglo-Indian spectacles for studying the problems on the spot from a different angle of vision to which he had been accustomed in England. A golden muzzle was also placed on the minister's lips preventing him from making any speeches about the wooden and antedeluvian character of the Government of India. Such precautionary measures were taken presumably for ensuring deep concentration of thought on political problems. The plan had well succeeded; after hearing addresses, and receiving deputations, he sat in solemn conclave with the Viceroy and his provincial satraps, and framed a scheme of reforms for educating and training the people of India in the school of political responsibility, recommended that they should be put in the first form in the school of responsible government, and left the matter of the promotion and all further progress of the pupils to the Viceroy and his bureaucracy. Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta raised a hue and cry against the scheme, and the school of bureaucracy it recommended, while Nagpur and Lahore, which were then ruled by typical bureaucratic Governors, accepted the scheme which was accordingly enforced in those provinces. A modified scheme was introduced in those factious provinces of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta; and when the Labour party came into power in Britain in 1922, they set up Home-rule Parliaments in those three provinces, as well as at Delhi, while at Nagpur and Lahore the original scheme of Government framed by Mr. Montagu was in force. In 1923 a Home Rule Parliament was set up at Allahabad, while in Burma the Morley scheme of reforms was introduced in 1922, as its bureaucratic Government then reported to the British Labour Cabinet that the people were politically backward, and though there was a higher percentage of literacy in the province than in British India, it was the desire of the Burman people that their fortunes should not be linked with those of British India, that they should remain a separate Crown Colony and be ruled and protected under the perpetual tutelage of bureaucracy. Though the theory of trusteeship and guardianship was repudiated by all true American democrats, the imperialistic school of politicians of Germany and Britain insisted on their right to act as trustees and guardians for smaller nationalities, and certain other non-European races. Britain claimed the right to treat India as her trust porperty, and train the Indians in the art of popular and domocratic Government by a graduated series of political exercises, and promoting them into the higher classes every five or ten years, and judging of their fitness for promotion or depromotion from stage to stage. Such a claim for treating India as a ward of foreign British courts, and giving her periodical doses of liberty on her consenting to keep the peace and be of good behaviour, and continuing to be in the good graces of her foreign bureaucratic guardians and trustees,—such a claim was considered by the British Labour Party as inconsistent with the British policy of national self-determination preached in the last German War and the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919. Such principles of self-determination were held to be inapplicable to the peculiar conditions that prevailed in certain parts of India.

Among such advocates of sundried bureaucracy in India was Sir S. D. B. Fossilon, the Governor of Central Provinces, who was appointed in 1923 to sit at the helm of state at Nagpur, and train the people in the art of responsible government under the Montagu scheme. In the local Legislative Council, 75 per cent of the members were elected members and the rest were nominated by the Governor to represent the various interests and classes. There were 80 members including the nominated members. A grand committee of thirty-two members was formed, of whom twenty were officials,

Mr. D. Abhiman was the leader of the majority of elected members; and fifty of the elected members elected him as their leader and called themselves as Nationalists or Liberals. The Governor selected him, and his friend Mr. Svarajya, another elected member, as his Ministers for the transferred departments of Local self-government, Education, Agriculture, Sanitation, and Co-operation. For the reserved departments, the Governor appointed Mr. B. D. Hard as his official Member, and Mr. Mulrojee Row as his non-official Member; and they formed the Executive Council in sole charge of reserved departments. Mr. Facing-both-ways was appointed as additional Member without any portfolio for advising the Council. Mr. Mulrojee Row was for sometime a legal practitioner; his unswerving loyalty, his staunch adherence to official hierarchy, his studious avoidance of all noisy fussy agitation for imaginary or real rights, his moderate views on the political problems of the day, and his constant advice to elect members to work in mutual forbearance and hearty co-operation, and avoid unpleasant conflicts and dead-locks,—all these high qualities had endeared him to the Governor and the official members of his Executive Council. Ever since Sir S. D. B. Fossilon was appointed from England, an agitation was started, and kept up against him at Nagpur for no other reason than that the Governor had previously spoken disparagingly about the Indian claim for responsible government. It was considered too democratic for the Labour Ministry to appoint Governors from the members of the Labour party. The Governor Fossilon would not budge an inch in asserting all his right under the Montagu Scheme, and had many a tussle with the Ministers for the transferred departments. Before the Budget meeting in 1926, Mr. D. Abhimani sought an interview with the Governor with a view to tender his resignation. The Governor tried to persuade him to remain.

"You must consider that your tenure of office does not depend on the wishes of the Legislative Council," said the Governor to the Minister, "You know under the Act I am not bound to select the elected member who has got the majority in the Council. I may select any elected member. All that I want him to do is to administer the transferred departments with the funds I allot to him. You remember that even in the original report of Montagu-Chelmsford the Governor is not expected to play the part of constitutional Governor as in a self-governing Colony and select the leader of the house who has got a majority. In the instrument of Instructions to Governors sent from the India Office I am not compelled to do so. It contains a bundle of pious wishes and consitutional maxims which have no application in such a country as India. After making the required contribution to the Government of India, I have alloted sufficient funds for my reserved departments; and the balance will be given to your departments. I cannot help it if you frequently complain that your departments are all starved."

"In 1924 I wanted to pass an Elementary Education Bill." Mr. D. Abhimani pointed out to the Governor. "The funds you allotted would hardly cover one-tenth of the expenditure required for setting up free elementary schools as we planned. The late Mr. Gokhale tried about 14 years ago to have such a Bill passed. Subsequently Mr. Sarma tried in vain. To meet the necessary expenditure for such a comprehensive measure, we proposed to levy an educational cess which on calculation covered one-half of the expenditure. Then we asked you to allot to us double the amount allowed to us by you, which sum would cover only one-fifths of the total expenditure. Your colleague Mr. D. Hard said that it was impossible, and refused to allot one pie more. Nevertheless we proceeded with the Bill curtailing our programme. The Bill was finally wrecked; you all seriously proclaimed that the introduction of compulsory system of education would land the country in anarchy and chaos. The Damocles' sword of veto always hangs on our heads in respect of all measures distasteful to the official mind. Further you have got that extraordinary weapon of a certificate of peace and tranquility to be hurled at our heads whenever you do not like our measures. Your Grand Committee is a convenient tool available to meet official requirements. When we agitated for non-official majorities in our legislative councils, you were forced to give it by stress of public opinion; with deliberate intent to secure and ensure bureaucratic supremacy, you created another council with an official majority as an effective check on the popular party.

The Grand Committees, the Council of State, and certificates of order, peace and good government are all clever bureaucratic expedients for ensuring bureaucratic monopoly. Mr. Montagu who would not have them, was asured that they were absolutely necessary in the transitional stage from autocracy to liberty and responsible government."

"I wonder what you are driving at" the Governor interrupted the Minister. "It is no use declaiming against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. We are working it to see how far the people are fit to be entrusted with responsible government. If you display your unfitness by such resignations, eternal conflicts and deadlocks, I have to report your unfitness to the Government of India and the Secretary of State who are declared to be the Judges as to the measure and the time for extension of political privileges. Please tell me what are your specific grievances personally ?"

"I see you want my personal grievances". replied Mr. Abhiman, "The position of the Indian Minister for the Transferred Departments is very anamolous. He is an elected member and apparently responsible to his constituents, i.e., when he seeks re-election, he must secure their good will. If he were to side with the official and European members, the latter would readily find him an asylum or a constituency of Anglo-Indian captains of industries and commerce. The planting, mining, and mercantile interests might find him a constituency especially when the Indian Minister passed as a champion of their interests. It would be within the letter of the Statute if the Governor selects a planting Member, or the representative of Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce as his Minister or Ministers for the Transferred Departments.

"Further you have selected me or appointed me to the post; you are for the present entitled to fix my pay even. Practically you are my master. The elected members cannot remove me from my office; they may pass votes of want of confidence in me; such protests might be unheeded by you and me. The instrument of Instructions which have not force of statute-law, might be explained away as the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory. I am not putting hypothetical cases. Within the last three years we have had bitter experience of the working of the Montagu Scheme. The Congress-League Scheme was condemned on account of deadlocks arising from its working. Now under this scheme are we working? We have every year a regular battle between you and me, between the transferred and the reserved departments. This impracticable and silly idea of compartmental autonomy first originated in the mind of a constitution-monger, a terrible expert like Abbe Sieyes in constitution-planning on paper, Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round-table notoriety. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy cheerfully embraced the idea, sought therein refuge and consolation that it would prevent the grant of full autonomy. It is novel and unprecedented. The makers of the American, the French, the Canadian, or Australian Constitutions never imagined for a moment that an administration could be split up into two bureaus of autocracy and democracy existing side by side, and working in concert, ensuring efficient administration and at the same time promoting the contentment and prosperity of the people. They were practical politicians, not mere political theorists manufacturing paper constitutions. I ask you, Sir, to point out to me one precedent in the history of the civilized world where the administration of a country has been bifurcated into two compartments, one compartment which is official and irresponsible to the people in charge of important departments, the other compartent which is non-official or elected and responsible to the people in charge of certain transferred departments, the elected members accepting the crumbs that fell from the official table with frequent starvation facing them in the face. Cursed be the day when this absurd idea of bifurcated administration of a State entered the minds of English statesmen!"

"Mr. Abhiman, what earthly use is there in your declaiming against the very system under which you have been working these three years?" the Governor remarked, "You may as well protest against the earth going round the sun. Manage somehow for the remaining two years, and then retire from all public life. In my opinion the system of compartments is admirably suited to the peculiar conditions of India."

"You say that the compartmental system is admirably suited for India," Mr. Abhiman

continued, "I shall remind you of half a dozen instances of the bureaucratic character, and its impracticability or unworkability of the compartmental system of administration. In the last year's budget you abnormally increased the expenditure on the Police; in the Legislative Council I wanted to cut it short only by ten per cent you budgetted for; What did you and your Executive Council do? You issued a certificate that as the expenditure related to a reserved department, the additional expenditure was necessary in the interests of peace, order and good government; the services of your Grand Committee where the elected members have no majority were invoked; we were powerless, and protested; the Excutive Council had its allotment passed. I shall take another instance. The Executive Council wanted a resettlement of certain northern districts in the province. We passed certain resolutions in our Legislative Council by substantial majorities objecting to the re-settlement, and insisting on certain preliminary enquiries. Our resolutions remained as mere recommendations or pious wishes not binding on you. You remember that we strongly urged the preliminary appointment of a Committee for certain enquiries. Your Council reminded us, that our resolutions related to the reserved departments, and the appointment of Committees and preliminary enquiries were vexatious and prejudicial to public interests. Our protests were a mere voice in the wilderness. We are thus trained in the art of responsible government. In certain cases of deportation and internments, interpellations were asked in the Legislative Council, I answered that such matters pertained to reserved departments. Subsequently a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council calling for public enquiries, and public trials. I transmitted all the papers to your Executive Council. The bureaucratic reply was that, in the interests of peace, order and good government, such action was necessary, and as those persons acted in a manner prejudicial to public safety, their public trial was not expedient in the interests of justice. Neverthless some members called for inspection of papers; it was also refused on the ground that it would be detrimental to public interests. We have been hearing these words for more than thirty years; Montagu preached on mutual forbearance, good will, and harmonious co-operation. When such is the treatment accorded to elect members in respect of reserved departments, how could you expect forbearance or co-operation from them? I say the administration of a State is one and indivisible; it is the height of folly to divide it and set up strife, friction, and conflict among the divided parts; I do not complain against you or Mr. Die-Hard, nor even against your pliant and supple non-official voting machine in the person of Mr. Mulroji Row; but I say the system is ill-conceived, and ill-planned, and ill-worked."

"Have you poured forth all your grievances?" the Governor asked the Minister. "I have been thinking that, if you have exhausted them, your mind would be appeased, and your heart lightened; you would then come to a mood of accepting my advice and continue for two more years. Even in the last year this fit of resignation came on you; you worried me for a few days; I pacified you.'

"On the question of resignation I have made up my mind," replied the Minister, "If you give me a patient hearing for some time more you will realise the awkward position in which I am placed. I tell you, Sir, no self-respecting man would have put up with such worries, such ever-increasing friction, and periodical conflicts. Please compare my position with that of Ministers working in Home-rule Assemblies in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. The appellation of Minister to the person in charge of Transferred Departments is a mockery and a delusion. The separation of executive and judicial functions has been a standing grievance for the last forty years. Viceroys and Governors and Secretaries of State admitted the necessity, but pleaded want of funds. Even in the time of Lord Hardinge promises were held out without any fulfilment. What has happened in the Presidency towns? As soon as fully elected or Home-rule Assemblies were set up in 1923, one of their first acts was the separation of those functions. Stimulated by such examples, a Bill was brought in our Legislative Council for effecting a separation of excutive and judicial functions. I admit it is one of the reserved subjects. When it was about to be passed, a certificate was issued quoting those magical words peace, order, and good govern-

ment; and your Grand Committee was seized of the matter; the Bill was altered beyond all recognition with a number of reservations and exemptions, and it became practically worthless; your colleague Mr. D. Hard had a clause inserted in it to the effect that the Act was to come into force by means of a Notification in the official Gazette when the funds became available. You all meant it as a joke; but we took it as a personal insult. To remedy a crying evil we cried out; we exerted to have the intolerable anamoly removed. But the bureaucracy would not permit it. Even with regard to transferred departments, the Governor has a "*power of control*" over them, as he is "*generally held responsible for the administration.*" The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms was officiall considered as constituting "*substantial steps*" towards the progressive realization of responsible Government. I fail to see the responsibity in the elected members. All responsibility is vasted in bureaucracy as in olden days viz the Governor and his executive Council.

(To be continued.)

Extracts from the Memorandum on a University for Baroda.

(By Professor P. SESHADRI.)

A PLEA FOR FINE ARTS.

The introduction of some elements of aesthetic education like painting and music and other fine arts should be another distinctive feature of the University. It is curious that such a grave void in the culture of our young men as the want of any knowledge of the fine arts should not have attracted any general attention. The aesthetic faculty of the Indian student at the University has at present to feel satisfied with the training it receives in the departments of poetry and general literature. Without underrating its value, it may be pointed out that there must also be a more concrete appeal to his sense of the beautiful, some touch with music, painting and sculpture, which do not at all enter at present into the atmosphere of Indian collegiate life. It is not merely the enthusiatic preachers of the gospel of art like Ruskin, that testify to the elevating influence of a study of art in its various departments; the idea has been urged upon the world, since the days of Plato, who taught man "to use the beauties of the earth as steps along which he mounts upwards, going from one to two and from two to all fair forms and from fair forms to fair action." It is through love of art that we leave, as Plotinus has said, "every object of sense far behind, to contemplate, by a certain ascent, a beauty of a much higher order, a beauty not visible to the corporal eye, but alone manifest to the brighter eye of the soul, independent of all corporal aid."* Those who have bestowed any attention on the psychology of adolescence will know how essential it is that there should be a healthy exercise of the emotions during the period and nothing is calculated to give purer scope to them than the cultivation of aesthetics. The subict is thus of great importance to the development of character in the young and must be taken into account in the appraisement of its educational value. Pleading for a fuller recognition of the subject in England, a writer observes in a recent number of the *Educational Suppliment* of the *London Times*: "In the normal free-minded adolescent we find a new interest in poetry, new intensities of feeling in face of natural beauty, a new seriousness of social goodwill. The average school still provides far too few outward conductors, sublimations of the love impulse, relying chiefly upon hard exercise, and an effort to induce hard thinking. These are valuable but incomplete measures. They make little response to the aesthetic and social urgencies. We have here a strong argument from psychology for the inclusion of the arts as an integral part of school-work. It is much to be hoped that the continuation schools will give adequate consideration to aesthetic training." It is obviously not intended here that the plea should be understood only with reference to life in schools, and it must also be remembered that education is begun at an earlier age in India and the average Indian youth is employed on his collegiate studies during the period, so full of dangerous susceptibilities, requiring direction into refined and beautiful channels of activity.

One reason of the want of adequate

* "Essay on the Beautiful."

recognition of the place of aesthetic education may be that its influence is slow and imperceptible, felt only in the long run in the harmonious ordering of one's life, the subject himself imbibing the good impulses in unconscious mood. As Plato writes "rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, imparting grace, making the soul of him who is rightly educated graceful, or of him who is ill-educated ungraceful," and the influence of works of Art "shall flow into the eye and ear, like a health-giving breeze from a purer region, and insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness and sympathy with the beauty of reason." The Indian with his constitutional leanings towards melancholy and religious speculation, stands in greater need of it than the energetic and adventurous child of the west and education cannot be complete without an adequate development of this aspect, which will ensure the permanent possession with the individual of a power which can be relied upon to sweeten his toil and relieve his sorrow. It is a matter for regret, that we should not have in our Universities as in those of some of the west, professors of Music and the Fine Arts and Baroda may easily acquire the distinction of leading the way in the matter.

Certain facilities already exist at the capital of the State for a realisation of this end. The Museum, situated near the College, round which the University will grow, has got an Art Gallery as its adjunct, containing some interesting models of Indian painting and also a few specimens of Western Art. When supplemented with the extensive collection which has been purchased for the State and is awaiting shipment in England, it should afford fairly satisfactory scope for the teaching of the subject in the arts department of the College. It may incidentally be mentioned that it is highly essential that there should be prepared a full and informing catalogue of the existing models, with detailed notes on the pictures and the collection should be placed in separate charge of a person with a special knowledge of painting and generally of art. There are elementary music classes kept by the State in the city and at four other centres and weekly public exhibitions in the Park, of orchestral performances with Indian musical instruments have also been recently introduced. There have also been other efforts in the past in Baroda, at the study and encouragement of Indian music and some more organised and definite action in the matter should easily enable the provision of such facilities in collegiate education.

It is hardly necessary to add that these subjects will form a special attraction for lady students in the college classes who have now to leave the college after studying just the same subjects as men. It may not be a hardship in the case of those women who have to seek a career, it may even be desirable that they should possess academic qualifications in the same subjects as men, so that they may not suffer in the competition for office. But in the case of those who will confine themselves practically to the duties of domestic life, even after higher education, sweetening their homes and introducing into them an element of refinement it is a serious drawback and they should welcome this new departure. If the necessity for it has not been very strongly felt till now in India, it is only due to the fact that there have not yet been many instances of members of that class going in for University education, and probably in some measure, even to the absolute absence from the curriculum of any touch with such subjects. But the ideal must be to draw more and more on that class and make a special appeal to its needs.

It should not be imagined for a moment that instruction in such subjects will fall necessarily below the intellectual standards usually imposed on University examinations. In the theory as well as in the practice of subjects like Indian music and painting there is enough scope for conducting graduated examinations, corresponding for instance, to the Intermediate and the B. A. standards. A number of handy manuals * suitable for use by students have already appeared. The history of the Fine Arts, biographies of artists and in the advanced stages, courses in aesthetics like those furnished by the writings of Ruskin, the discourses of Sir Joshua

* Percy Brown's "Indian Painting"; Fox-Strangway's "Music of Hindustan"; Clement's "Introduction to the Study of Indian Music"; T. A. Gopinatha Row's "Indian Iconography"; Gangoli's "South Indian Bronzes" and "South Indian Lamps" and the books of Havell, Vincent Smith and Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami on Indian Art.

Reynolds or the *Aesthetic* of Benedetto Croce, are other directions in which the courses may be further drawn out. Again, it is not intended that the Fine Arts should form an independent course by themselves, but that they should only be among the alternative optional subjects allowed in the Arts courses of the Intermediate and B. A. examinations. It is hoped that this statement indicates clearly the exact nature and range of the departure suggested. It would be economical and convenient in various ways to hold the classes for the Fine Arts in rooms that may be attached to the Art Gallery, which is within a very short distance of the proposed University site, being separated almost only by a road. It will not only render the models of art easily available to the classes but it will also enable the Professor of Fine Arts to be placed in charge of the Art Gallery. The circumstance that students of this subject will not have their classes in the college building and will have to go a little distance must of course be borne in mind in the framing of the time-tables.

* * *

A Plea for University Extension.

Modern Universities have been striving to raise the intellectual level of the nations they seek, to serve by arranging lecture son serious subjects of study for the benefit of those who cannot enjoy the privilege of being actual members of a University, and in some Universities like London, the movement has made considerable progress and resulted in valuable benefits. It is interesting to note that in doing so, they are after all only trying to reproduce facilities similar to those which existed even in such ancient centres of learning as Athens. The lucky member of that city-state, however modest in his worldly possessions, could probably listen to a Pericles in the market-place, hang on the lips of a Socrates or Plato in the olive groves of Academe, witness the masterpieces of a Sophocles, Euripides or Aeschylus in the theatre at night or occasionally on some high festive occasion, even hear a Pindar declaim his lofty odes.

Efforts at the spread of such popular education have occasionally been made in the past in Baroda itself, by the organisation of lectures, the facilities of the Central Library and the publication of translations and other means, but the University ought to raise them to the level of very serious intellectual work, investing them with its prestige and authority, and definitely include them from the very outset, in its scope of work. The benefits of some of the highest aspects of University culture must be open even to those who may not, for various reasons, find it possible to attend classes as regular students, during the ordinary hours of the College time-table. Persons who have ceased to be students, but who would yet like to spare an occasional hour, morning or evening for further education; those who are forced to toil in humble walks of life but would grasp at opportunities for raising themselves by acquiring additional intellectual and professional accomplishments; members of the commercial classes who may sometimes possess leisure for light study and several officials of the city interested in some object or other—the movement for University extension will appeal to all these varied types. It will serve appreciably to raise the intellectual level of the city and generally of the whole State and it will generate in its turn numerous enlightened impulses, bound to leave their mark on the progress of the people. The plea for this creation of what Lord Haldane has called "a new aristocracy, a democratic elite of talent" may be further supported by the following exhortation of Lord Morley's in his address on *Popular Culture*: "What we see every day with increasing clearness is, that not only the well-being of the many, but the chances of the exceptional genius, moral and intellectual, in the gifted few, are highest in a society where the average interest, curiosity, capacity are all highest. The moral of this for you and me is plain. We cannot like Beethoven or Handel lift the soul by the magic of the divine melody into the seventh heaven of ineffable vision and hope incommensurable; we cannot like Newton weigh the far-off stars in a balance and measure the heavings of the eternal flood; we cannot like Voltaire, scorch up what is cruel and false, by a word as a flame, nor like Milton or Burke, awaken men's hearts with the note of an organ-trumpet; we cannot like the great saints of the Churches and the great sages of the schools, add to those acquisitions of spiritual beauty and intellectual mastery which have one by one and little by little, raised man from being no higher than the brute, to be a

little lower than the angels. But what we can do is by diligently seeking to extend our own opportunity to others, to help to swell that common tide on the force and the set of whose currents depends the prosperous voyaging of humanity." *

Notes and Comments.

Professor P. Seshadri M.A. of the Hindu University of Benares has, at the invitation of the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, prepared a memorandum on a University for Baroda after personally studying local conditions. It is an able document and its publication is quite opportune. As it is rather too big to be reproduced in full in the pages of this magazine we give elsewhere in this issue extracts from this notable contribution to the growing literature on University planning in India.

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Rao Bahadur Professor K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar M.A. has kindly sent us a note on this Memorandum on a University for Baroda by Professor P. Seshadri M.A. It is a thorough review of the whole memorandum and we hope to publish the same in our next issue.

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Elsewhere in this issue we publish the first instalment of a Chapter from the forthcoming book of Mr. P. Subrahmanya Mudaliar B.A., B.L. named "An Invasion of India in 1827." As the name indicates the whole of the book is the work of his imagination. The author takes for granted that the Reform Act granting Home Rule for India is passed in 1922 and Home Rule Parliaments are set up in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1923. Panjab and the Central Provinces are supposed not to be advanced enough to have complete Home Rule and hence they are said to have Legislative Assemblies and Grand Committees and Councils of State as advocated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The difficulties that may be experienced in the practical working of the diarchical form of Government are well pointed out in the Chapter which we are publishing herein. It is an intelligent forecaste of what would happen and hence we trust would interest our readers. The complete book itself is in the Press and will be published in the course of a month more and will consist of about 350 pages foolscap 8vo.

***

We have not been able owing to pressure on our space to publish all the articles that we received for publication in our Special Educational Number in spite of the fact that we put in twenty extra pages. We published the interesting article of Mr. T. V. Swaminatha Aiyar B.A., L.T. in the last issue and in this we print the extracts from Professor P. Seshadri's memorandum. In the next issue we hope to publish Rao Bahadur Professor K. V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar's note on this memorandum and the first instalment of Mr. M. S. Natesan's article on "Philosophy of Education." Thus Education has practically become one of the special subjects dealt with in the *Hindu Message*. We hope to have more articles on Educational topics which we shall always be happy to publish.

***

We are glad to note that the *Hindoo Patriot* the oldest Indian Paper of Calcutta which was a weekly till now has been conected into a biweekly. We wish it becomes a daily soon as it was once before.

***

Mrs. Beasant has left India for good and the Bombay correspondent of *the Hindoo Patriot* says that it is widely rumoured that she will not come back to India. Her activities in India extend over nearly a quarter of a century. She shunned politics altogether till about five years ago and even went the length of explicitly saying in so many words that India should studiously avoid politics altogether and devote her energies solely to the spiritual regeneration of the world. But she suddenly changed all that and plunged into politics with the result that while she infused a hitherto unknown zeal and energy into Indian Politics, she became the unwitting cause of numerous divisions and factions. We were not surprised at her change since consistency has never been one of Mrs. Beasant's virtues. It was this fault in her that made her latterly intolerable to any

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* "Popular Culture" (Miscellaneous).

of the sections of Indian politicians. Even her Home-Rule followers found it impossible to put up with her autocratic methods and the final resignation letter of this "rejected colleague and servant" is most pathetic reading. While not questioning the sincerity of her motives we cannot help deploring the considerable havoc she has caused by her mistaken zeal for India in all fields of activity, social, religious and political. We wish her several happy years of peace in her native land.

Olla Podrida.

The matrimonial advertiser has appeared again. 'The Practical Reformer' advertises thus: "A young Brahmin gentleman of good education or high social position is invited to correspond with the undersigned for marrying his ward, a fair vadama Brahmin spinster aged 17–18 who is a scholar in English, Malayalam, and Tamil, knows Sanscrit fairly well, possesses good colloquial knowledge of Telugu, Hindustani, and Canarese, holds certificates in cookery, needle work, tailoring, painting and playing on the harmonium, belongs to a respectable Palghat family and well connected with four renowned Andhra families of Madras Presidency." In the old *Svayamvaras* the praises of the assembled suitors used to be sung. We are now living in a new age when the praises of both the parties are sung. We do not know which element of attraction is the most remarkable of all the elements of attractiveness. I do not know if the multilingual proficiency of which the most important aspect is proficiency in English is the most attractive feature. There are however two peculiar features to be noticed: first, this is a rare advertisement because widows and not spinsters are generally to the fore in respect of matrimonial advertisements; secondly, this is a unique instance of a modern advanced woman knowing the plebian art of cookery.

***

Only recently we had a very funny sight. A Brahmin lady of the new stumping sort made her sudden appearance in the Majlis-ul-ulama at Tanjore. She bearded the lions in their den (I beg pardon for the word bearded; it has an appropriateness that I did not intend). The audience felt troubled by the invasion of a smooth chin. In spite of the fact that the absence of hirsute beauty was made up by plenty of cheek, the audience hesitated. But the storm was averted and the audience was rubbed down the back by an advanced Muslim and then the lady was asked, to come on the next day to speak. Then she came on the next day and spoke. Happy was the speaker, happy was the occasion, and happy were the hearers!

***

Have you noticed of late the large and increasing number of advertisements about missing boys? Has this anything to do with the large number of appearing girls? I offer this conundrum for solution. When boys begin to miss, what should misses do? But fun apart, where do these boys go? Has the Pied Piper reappeared? Will somebody interpellate the Government about the matter?

***

Did you read about the new Alliance of Honour? The new boy-saviours say that the boys are growing more and more vicious, that the old Brahmacharya is unsuitable to modern times, and that hence a students' branch of the Alliance of Honour must be started. So for every evil an association must be started which has its headquarters in England. The League of the helping hand, the Leeds Comrades Circles etc etc etc.—how many saviours of society there are! Yet our obstinate society refuses to be saved. Mr. J. M. Banerjee, 3, Abraham's lane, Purasawalkam, is said to be the travelling secretary of the Alliance of Honour. Many thanks.

***

A recent correspondent (Mr. Narayana Sastri of Ongole) writing to *The Hindu* on 15th May has discovered that the Sanatana Dharma is "the relentless antagonist to Industrial and Social reform." He has not enlightened us about the source of his discovery. He asks us to become Arya Samajists or practical Vedantins. What an alternative! Who is 'a practical Vedantin'?

Meantime the Thiyya Conference is over and the Nadar Conference is to begin. Where is it all to end !

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The *Daily News* has discovered and proclaimed that " the great event of the last fortnight in Calcutta has been the reappearance of the nice biscuit, the English biscuit." It is refreshing to learn this during these days of the Peace Conference, the Afghan war, etc.

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* *

We began with marriage and shall end with it. Here is a complementary advertisement : " A fair Brahmin smartha girl of 15 to marry a widower of good position employed in Madras." Do you know the new definition of man ? Man is a marrying animal.

SCRUTATOR.

Epigramatic Tit-bits.

(BY W. DORASAMY IYER.)

We are guided not by our friend's prosaic " advice " but by our flatterer's mosaic " device "; for give good *advice* to your friends, he would not heed you or need you, but *add vice* to him he will certainly want you and welcome you. Such is the gravitation of Human Nature !

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* *

No effort—No comfort. Rapidity is stupidity.

*
* *

Combine and conquer or divine and decline; United we conquer but divided we suffer for " united " becomes " untied " even by the slightest change and if it becoms *loose* we *lose* all even as the small *hole* of a boat destroys the *whole* of it !

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* *

The more you labor for your neighbour, the more will God help you for your deeds are but the seeds of your future fame or blame.

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* *

" Fault " is indeed the " salt " of our life for best men were moulded out of them !

*
* *

There is no " accident " with the Karmic orient as with the sceptic " occident " for *Fate* like your shadow follows your *feet*. Your deserts will not desert you even in a desert ; but if " fate " were ever a " fete " there would be no misery or hankering and hungering after God for only man's adversity is God's opportunity.

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If you say a thing *often* the *awe* for it becomes a *fun*—that is by repetition it loses its reputation and charm and so also there is harm in " excess " in which it *aches* for *us* !

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* *

No one can escape envy in prosperity or ridicule in adversity without fortitude in the one or moderation in the other.

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The more we travel and wander in the world, the more we ponder over Nature and its wonder and the fonder we love Humanity too ; hence the use of our pilgrimages and Bhupradakshinams !

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The secret of success its to learn to do all things both " gently " and " urgently," that is to " speed with heed " and again what is *success* but the happy fruit of *successive* efforts !

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A lawyer is like a " *leech* " whether he cures our case or no—he has *success* for he *sucks us* !

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* *

" Convincing " a man of his crime is more difficult than " convicting " him of the same !

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* *

A *foreign* thing is that which is *far* and not *in*.

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* *

Sometimes "hybrid" men out-bid "high-bred" ones !

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* *

A " coward " is one who acted in a " covered " way and *hied* to *hide* himself !

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* *

It is easy to " promise " and easier to " miss " !

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* *

A person that would often " interfere " in other's affairs is a reckless one who did *inter* in himself the *fear* of consequences.

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* *

A " grateful " fellow is a " great fool " for he seems to forget the modern rule of " Let by-gones be by-gones " !

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* *

A *bald*-headed person *bawled* out that he is wis for he is not hair (hare) brained !

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* *

Though both were far above the common level of pleasure and pain, yet Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher, lived only 60 years but Democritus, the laughing philosopher, lived 109 years! Such (as in bulk) is the difference between the Jupiter or optimistic and Saturn or pessimistic temperaments ! !

Printed and Published by T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B. A. at the Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

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